RRR
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1996! The Morning Line

by Murray N. Rothbard

Before last November, there was no point in weighing the various Presidential possibilities for 1996, since elections are always bound to bring crucial changes; and this one did, and how! Now, however, a mad early scramble for the Republican nomination has already begun, and will emerge in full force by this summer. Now that many states have pushed their 1996 primaries much earlier to obtain influence over the nomination ("front-loading"), it becomes more important than ever to get into the race, and to start raising money, as soon as possible. The standard early ploy is to speak at Republican or other key gatherings in crucial early primary states, and to appoint committees to "investigate the potential for entering the race" (i.e. to see how much money can be raised and how many supporters can be rallied).

A word of caution: many of the names floating out there are people who don't seriously expect to get the nomination. What they *really* want is the vice-presidential nod, but *nobody* ever announces: "I want to run for vice-president!" The thing to do is to get your name out, get some support, and hope that lightning will strike in the shape of whoever gets the party's nod for president.

The "Eastern Establishment"

Dominant in both major parties for decades is what has been loosely called the "Eastern Establishment," which, in the Republican party, boils down to a close but sometimes uneasy alliance between two powerful and wealthy groups: the Rockefellers and their numerous industrial, corporate, and financial coterie ("the Rockefeller World Empire") [RWE]; and the neoconservative-Wall Street group, the latter being a tight coalition of neoconservative foundations, academics, pundits, journalists, and thinktankers,

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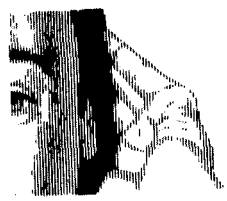

THE EAR

by Sarah Barton

In a city that lives on tips, "Ace" Greenberg, head honcho at Bear Stearns in New York, has struck back: he pays no tip to the building's shoeshine man. When he found that his associates regularly give the shoeshine guy $2 for a $1.50 shine, Ace went into orbit, and told the other Bear Stearns people to stop. I guess to set an example, one time Ace could only come up with $1.48 in change, and told the poor guy he'd cough up the 2 cents next time. A top financier stiffing the shoeshine guy! As premier gossipist Cindy Adams likes to put it, "Only in New York, kids, only in New York."

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The Ear

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✦

Bernadette Castro, left-liberal Castro Convertible sofabed heiress, was the sacrificial lamb the Republicans put up against centrist Democratic Senator Pat Moynihan in New York. As predicted, she was swamped by Moynihan. Senator Al D'Amato, while denouncing Giuliani and Ralph Marino as Backstabbers against his man Pataki for governor, himself made sure that no Republican money would be sent Bernadette's way.

In the new Pataki administration, George rewarded Bernadette by appointing her to the post of New York Commissioner of Parks and Recreation. She will probably coast through confirmation by the Republican-run State Senate. But there is a possible problem for Bernadette. One of the Castro family (headed by Bernadette's father, Bernard) is a close personal and business associate of Ettore Zappi, alleged pornography kingpin of New York's top Mafia family, the Gambinos. For over a decade of Bernadette's being No. 3 in Castro Convertibles, Zappi was the company's chief supplier of mattresses.

It almost makes you believe in "stereotypes."

✦

Two weeks before Newt asked his wife to sign divorce papers while she was still groggy from a cancer operation, he told his campaign treasurer: "Jackie isn't young enough or pretty enough to be the wife of the president of the United States."

✦

Bill Buckley likes to trash his friends in their obituaries. Recent examples: Henry Hazlitt and Neil McCaffrey, both his moral and intellectual superiors.

✦

Nelson Mandela's fondness for young blondes was outed in a *Washington Post* photo. He was shown pressing himself against a visiting Miss Germany and leering at her.

✦

Newt Gingrich says: "I am against having sex police in the men's room and I'm against teaching *Heather Has Two Mommies* in kindergarten or the first grade." Oh, I get it. It's okay for them to have sex in public restrooms, but we don't have to teach our children about it until the second grade. ■

Random Gripes

by M.N.R.

The Apology Gavotte: Is anyone else as fed up as I am with the orgies of phony "apologies" and demands for apology that seem to have taken over the American culture? The latest: the Japanese government is forced to "apologize," for the 28th time, to the U.S. for Pearl Harbor, to China for the occupations of the 1930s, and Lord knows what else. Speaker Gingrich makes it one of his first acts to "apologize" to the Democrat party for Republican opposition to the New Deal, to entry into World War II, to its opposition to "civil rights" despotism, etc.

Or else: someone makes a statement that someone else doesn't like. The someone else [SE] demands that the someone [S] apologize either to SE or to SE's "group" [womankind, Jews, blacks, the disabled, the human race, or whatever]; S makes the apology, and then SE "decides whether to accept the apology or not." What is this nonsense? What happens, for example, if SE *doesn't* "accept" the apology? Is S drawn and quartered on national TV? Or what?

In my view, in contrast, apologies must be deeply felt, and proferred by the sinner; for the alleged victim to "demand" an apology is absurd and violates the very nature of sincere contrition. And above all, apologies should be *personal*, for the actions of the sinner himself; it is both too easy and idiotic for A to "apologize" for the actions of *other* people, let alone people long dead and gone.

For example, suppose that I solemnly announced [and of course *the point* of all this nonsense is public posturing and not heartfelt personal regret] that I hereby apologize for the (truly despicable) act of

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Alexander Hamilton and George Washington in their court-martial frameup of the true military and ideological hero of the American Revolution, General Charles Lee. The imbecility of such an action should be obvious. In addition to the fact that Lee is no longer around to receive it, who in blazes am *I* to speak for, let alone apologize for, the sins of Washington and Hamilton?

★

I was *wondering* when the legions of those who aim to outlaw risk would get around to mountain-climbing. It seems that the authorities in Nepal have recently discovered that one can get killed mountain-climbing, and are talking about a government crackdown.

★

Chung-Gingrich: In the light of the above guidelines, how do we approach the latest apology flap: the despicable act of Connie Chung in promising the elderly Ma Gingrich that this is "just between us" and thereby getting her to reveal that her son Newt thought of Hillary as a "bitch," and the equally despicable act of CBS News airing the segment? Apologies, of course, have been demanded all around. First, there is no need for Gingrich to apologize to Hillary or Willie; obviously, Hillary *is* a bitch. But also it is absurd for Gingrich or his partisans to demand apologies from Connie Chung or CBS. Instead, the public should stop watching Connie Chung and CBS News, or else openly boycott watching CBS until La Chung is booted out.

Instead of empty rhetoric, in short: concrete acts of punishment, which would also make a good start in ridding us altogether of the corrupt liberal media elite. By withdrawing our custom, and making sure that the media moguls know why.

★

Not being a techie, I've been on the sidelines over the years while the techno-optimists (computers, etc. will bring full freedom and end government intervention—George Gilder, et al.) have been battling with the techno-pessimists (computers will bring about Big Brother—Orwell). Apparently, the legions of the semi-official Hate Thought Police, those professional haters of "hate," are getting very worried about freedom of speech over the various computer networks and the now legendary "information superhighway." They have been trying to suppress hate expression, with only partial success. Since I'm skeptical about techno-determinism, I *hope* that the hate police/Big Brother forces lose, but it doesn't seem that victory for freedom is foreordained.

★

I see that soon the government will be able to send us emergency disaster warnings by automatically turning on our radio and TV sets. That's high-tech progress, I guess.

But I'm interested in something else: when, in blazes, are they going to stop sending out those blankety-blank "emergency test" signals on radio and TV? For fifty years now, it seems that every time I have radio or TV on, the Emergency Broadcasting Service cuts in with the annoying 60-second or whatever noise, announcing "this is a test." Look, the whole thing was designed to announce a nuclear bomb alert, so we could take "shelter" somewhere and listen to this standby EBS. But the Cold War is long over; when can we save taxpayers some money and cut out officious annoyance by shutting down this operation? Are you listening, Newt? ■

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The Morning Line

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along with their Wall Street allies.

Here we focus on the Republicans; the ruling elites among the Democrats are in some ways different—e.g. multi-gendered, multicultural, victim groups and the Hard Left, though the Rockefellers and the left-neocon Wall Streeters are also powerful if not dominant there). The neocons, who joined the Republican Right, and soon took it over, in the late 1970s, brought to the alliance with the Rockefellers the crucial opinion-moulding elite (academia, pundits, technocrats, thinktankers, etc.), plus lots of money from endowed foundations, originally Old Right, which the neocons managed to capture totally in the early 1980s. Whereas the Rockefellers undoubtedly have more money altogether than the neocons, they are obliged to *do* things with their money—like producing oil—whereas neocon foundation money is free to exert all of its influence in a singleminded drive for State power. In addition, the moulding of public opinion is crucial for any wielding of power, since intellectuals must be relied on to spin the apologia for the exercise of power, and for getting the public to go along with policies which violate all their sound instincts, e.g. higher taxes, government regulation, foreign aid, open borders, condomania, gun control, affirmative action, the welfare state, or the virtual expulsion of Christianity from the public square.

The Establishment within the Republican party *is* The Enemy, and always has been. The Eastern Establishment has been the key force in ruling the country for decades, and has guided the Republican party into aiding and abetting the Democrats in their continuing drive toward socialism; in the case of the Establishment, a corporate-statist socialism. It was in rebellion against this elite that the Old, pre-Goldwater Right, essentially middle class and businessmen from the Midwestern heartland, waged its determined though losing struggle. And it was against the kindred Democrat elite that the American people waged their glorious populist revolution last year.

The Establishment within the Republican party *is* The Enemy, and always has been.

The composition of the Republican Eastern Establishment, however, has changed over the decades. From World War II until the 1970s, they consisted of the Rockefeller World Empire; since the late 1970s, however, the RWE has been joined by the neocon–Wall Street forces. In fact, the neocons have successfully achieved primacy over their Rockefeller allies in dominating the Republican party. One crucial reason is that the Rockefellers were always openly leftists (or "moderates" in the whitewash term of the liberal media), so that Nelson Rockefeller and the phrase "Rockefeller Republican" became a stench in the nostrils of every conservative, grassroots American. But the neocons were sneakier; they moved rightward from being Truman-Humphrey Democrats in the late 1970s, they claimed to be "conservative" and in short order managed to take control of the entire conservative movement.

How did the neocons accomplish such a feat? For one thing, as self-proclaimed New York Intellectuals they brought to the Republicans and to the conservative movement a veneer of High Theory that the party and the movement had long lacked: and as ardent "anti-Communists" and "ex"-leftists they were warmly embraced by conservatives as prodigal children and as knowledgeable comrades in the Great Crusade against the Soviet Union. Overlooked in this enthusiasm was the fact that the neocons' anti-Communism was rooted, not in the anti-socialism of the Right, but in an adherence to other, anti-Stalin wings of the Marxist Church (e.g. Trotskyite, Bukharinite, Menshevik, and, generally, "right-wing Social

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Democrat"). This bloodless surrender to the neocons could never have been achieved without leaderhip in this process by the Pope of the Right since the late 1950s: Bill Buckley and his *National Review*. Buckley was motivated, not only by the anti-Soviet Communism common to the Right, but even more by his yearning for respectability and social acceptance in the fetid hothouse atmosphere of the New York *intelligentsia*—an acceptance that could be secured by the Kristols and the Podhoretzes.

Once they were welcomed into the conservative tent, it was duck soup for the neocons to take over: propelled by their organizing skills and their drive for power honed for decades in the Marxist-Leninist movement, and clinched by their rapid takeover of wealthy foundations endowed by Old Right heartland businessmen who doubtless have been spinning rapidly in their graves. Hence, the neocon dominance in much of the Reaganite movement, especially in foreign policy, in the upper strata of conservatism, and now in elite sectors of the Republican party.

The Neocon Stable

Many of those lining up in the Presidential race are opportunists ready to bend to pressure from the most powerful quarters: few are leaders of genuine principle. But, in light of our analysis, it is important to distinguish between opportunists (or "pragmatists," as they like to be called) who are willing to bend to the popular will, versus those whose allegiance, and whose sellouts, will not be in obedience to the popular will but to the malignant elites of the neocons or the Rockefeller World Empire. In view of the neocons' overriding strength in the conservative leadership, it is particularly vital for paleos and populists, for those who yearn to advance the great American revolution for liberty and against Big Government, to oppose those whose prime allegiance is owed to the neocon power elite. While it would be wonderful to nominate a principled paleo, a genuine populist, we must recognize that we may not be able to have our druthers, and that it would be far better to nominate a pragmatist bending to the popular will than someone who is a wholly-owned subsidiary of the Neocon Empire. This is especially true because the American people are now dedicated to rolling back Big Government. Far better, in other words, *our* opportunist than *theirs*.

The neocons, as we shall see presently, have a large number of wholly-owned nominees in their stable; they constitute, in horse-racing lingo, an "entry." How did they get so many? For one reason, the way you get to be a potential candidate is to be *mentioned* in the media; and the more you get mentioned, the more of a viable candidate you become. Who controls the number of mentions? In the Republican-oriented or allied media, the neocons, who constitute the "respectable" conservative spectrum of journalists, pundits, "experts," political consultants, and so on. And so neocon favorites get most of the mentions.

Jack Kemp

Jack Kemp was the prime neocon candidate for a long time; he has been the neocon fair-haired boy for almost two decades. Plucked out of obscurity as a Congressman from Buffalo, Kemp became the Great Thinker, the prince of "progressive" conservatism, the leader in "outreach" to blacks, gays, and all of the increasingly numerous ranks of the "oppressed," champion of their "empowerment" and of the "conservative opportunity society." Kemp's enthusiasm for unions and for the welfare state was demonstrated in his proudly calling himself a "Lane Kirkland Republican" (Lane Kirkland is the leftist longtime head of the AFL-CIO). During the Reagan years, Kemp's devotion to ever Bigger Government and the welfare state could be covered up by the exclusive Reaganite emphasis on cutting capital gains taxes and income taxes in the upper brackets. But when he joined the Bush cabinet as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), his odious record in expanding statism and the HUD budget—exposed in devastating critiques by the Mises Institute's Jeff Tucker—began to grate on the conservative grassroots.

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Kemp has especially come a cropper in recent years as the conservative grassroots has become angrier at Big Government and the welfare state, and in particular as they have emphasized social and cultural issues. For Kemp's stubborn hostility to cultural conservatism, his refusal to embrace moral or religious values, has finally lost him the support of the religious and cultural Right. Kemp has at last become an embarrassment to his neocon masters, and there are increasing signs that they are preparing to ditch him as a candidate. Not that the neocons *disagree* with Kemp's positions; it's just that in their lust for power, the neocons realize that they must continue to bamboozle and thereby rule over the religious Right as an essential building block and base of their coalition; therefore, neocon candidates are expected at least to give due lip-service to morality and "family values" while getting ready to betray them in practice. Either through stupidity or stubbornness, Jack Kemp has refused to accept the open signals and gentle pleas by neocon pundits to get with the morality rhetoric.

In addition to all that, let's face it, Jack Kemp is a lousy candidate. It is no accident that he got almost no votes when he ran in the presidential primaries in 1988. Despite his vaunted "optimism," he has none of the optimist Reagan's famed charm; indeed, Kemp never smiles, and likes to babble on in his squeaky, high-pitched monotone about supply-side economics, not exactly a winner on the stump. Like Clinton, Kemp talks too much, but unlike Slick Willie he has no personal magnetism and no appetite for chatting up the voters. In recent years, moreover, Kemp has grown testy and has Lost It in personal appearances and debates—a sure way to lose votes.

Jack Kemp, it's a pleasure to say, has Had It.

Kemp has at last become an embarrassment to his neocon masters—so they ditched him.

Bill Bennett

Whereas Kemp at least made it to Congress on his own, Bill Bennett has always been a total creature of the neocons. He was nothing, and had no career, until he was plucked out of the lowest ranks of obscure, know-nothing academia to become Irving Kristol's creature as head of the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH). Kristol, at the beginning of the Reagan Administration, had organized a monstrous and successful smear campaign that deprived the great scholar and genuine conservative Mel Bradford of that post. From NEH, Bennett vaulted to become Secretary of Education during the second Reagan term. There he advanced the socialistic neocon educational agenda of nationalizing education under the direction of the federal government. On the advent of the Clinton Administration, neocon foundation money installed Bennett and Kemp as co-heads of Empower America, twin presidential possibilities. Bennett was also placed in a host of lucrative and essentially no-show posts by his munificently funded neocon mentors.

Unlike Kemp, Bennett talks about morality and religion all the time; and indeed, he is the best-selling "expert" on Virtue. For a while, it looked as if Bennett would be the top neocon candidate, but one problem is that he has never *run* for, much less been elected to, anything. So he has never been tested. Still, Bennett was able to con the lovable but gullible Christian Right into becoming its favorite candidate, and for a while it looked as if Bennett were destined to replace Kemp as the preferred neocon candidate. But then Bennett goofed, admonishing the Christian Right that organized homosexuality should be none of their concern; that in fact lesbianism is positively benign. Instead, the Christian Right should turn their focus of moral disapproval to the evils of divorce, a battle that most of us thought had been settled a long time ago.

Bennett's high standing with the Christian Right took a predictable nosedive as a result: a fall accelerated by Bennett and Kemp's joint trip to California

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late in the 1994 campaign to denounce the very popular Proposition 187, which cut off taxpayer funding to illegal immigrants. The two men jointly cut their political throats at the behest of their lord and master, Bill Kristol, heir to papa Irving's neocon throne. Presumably, open borders, and even defiance of the manifest popular will, means enough to the neocons that they are willing to sacrifice their two most prominent presidential candidates. When their master's voice spoke, Bennett and Kemp of course had to bend the knee. Fortunately, this takes Bennett out of the presidential sweepstakes.

The Other Necons

Don't cry for the neocons, however: they have plenty of candidates left in their stable. Most prominent, and unfortunately also beloved of the Christian Right, is the man once properly derided by Pat Buchanan as "little Danny Quayle." Quayle benefits from the new American custom of making a vice-president the natural heir to the throne; in the good old days, vice presidents remained obscure forever and no one thought that they had any built-in edge for the presidency.

A Quayle nomination would be a disaster; he is perhaps the only Republican whose stature is lower than Bill Clinton's in the eyes of the American public. And deservedly so; the man is a flyweight, his face indelibily stamped with the look of a bewildered kid. His status as a butt of perpetual ridicule was not simply a creation of the liberal media; the media found it and were delighted to run with the news. Only a Danny Quayle would take the main moral stand of his career in an idiotic confrontation with a fictional TV character. It is true that his memoirs were a best-seller, but he was incautious enough to attack his presidential rivals openly, not a move calculated to endear him to the party faithful. That he is wholly owned by the neocons is demonstrated by the fact that the evil Bill Kristol was his control ("chief of staff") throughout his vice-presidency, as well as by the frequency of his joining in neocon smears against Pat Buchanan.

Until the day of writing this article, Dick Cheney would be included in our roster of neocon entrants. Cheney's withdrawal, however, has just been announced. A cautious, uninspired and uninspiring Gerry Ford liberal, Cheney became George Bush's cautious and uninspired Secretary of Defense. Only the fact that he became a wholly-owned neocon accounts for the durability of his being mentioned and cosseted by Republican conservatives. But while Cheney has been running for president for a long time, his campaign never caught fire. To become a presidential candidate, it is not enough to be cosseted and adopted by the elites; you *also* have to be able to get votes and support among the public. But no one liked Dick Cheney—no one, that is, except corporate executives, and whatever their strengths and virtues, corporate executives do not constitute a very large bloc of the voting population.

I saw the same curious phenomenon at work in the 1980 campaign. An old and dear friend of mine, a retired corporation executive, told me that while his heart was with Reagan, he was supporting for president John Connally. "Why *Connally*?" I asked, in surprise. "Because Connally can win," he replied solemnly.

So spectacularly wrong was my friend's judgment, that I suspect another very different factor was at work in the disastrous Connally, as well as the Cheney, presidential races. There was apparently something about the personalities of Connally and Cheney that appealed to corporate executives. Maybe they *looked* every inch the CEO: I don't know. Perhaps a kind corporate exec reader will enlighten us further. At any rate, Dick Cheney no longer constitutes a problem.

But there is another dark horse neocon entrant left: one who has been running for a long time, who remains virtually unknown to the American public and yet who *keeps* being mentioned over and over as a viable presidential candidate. He keeps being mentioned, as we have noted, because he is yet another wholly-controlled neocon stooge. I refer, of course, to the sainted Lamar Alexander, former governor of Tennessee a long while back. As Bush's

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Secretary of Education, Alexander pushed the nationalized education plan of his malignant deputy, neocon theoretician Chester "Checker") Finn. Since Alexander has been called "everybody's [hah!] No. 2 favorite," don't be surprised if he gets the vice-presidential nomination, either as a "conservative" or as a "moderate" "southern governor," depending on what label is needed by the neocons at the time of the Republican convention.

Newt!

That leaves us with the newest and pehaps most dangerous neocon of them all, Speaker Newt Gingrich. Most dangerous because his sometimes flaming revolutionary rhetoric makes rank-and-file conservatives think that he is a red-hot opponent of Big Government and champion of the right-wing populist revolution. Newt is anything but. He is a Big Government man to his toes, a long-time champion of Franklin Roosevelt, the New Deal, and the welfare state, even more ardent than the Democrats in his devotion to the New World Order and to the extermination of Serbs or of anyone else who gets in the way of neocon-imposed "global democracy."

We shall be dealing more with Newt in *RRR*. Suffice it to say here that he is a total neocon, but with a wacko, futurist, technobabble, psychobabble twist. A half-baked pretend intellectual, loaded with motivational-managerial jargon, he imposes reading lists on his Republican charges, reading lists loaded with books by his futurist, technobabble advisers. Furthermore, as keen observers from different parts of the ideological spectrum have already noted, his personality is disturbingly akin to Clinton's. Like Clinton, Gingrich talks too much, babbling incessantly on tangential topics; like Clinton, he changes his mind rapidly; and like Clinton he brings with him a team of kooky, Utopian-minded statist advisers determined to drag America into "The Future." And, like Clinton, Gingrich has already demonstrated an enormous appetite for personal power. Already, he has made himself the most powerful Speaker of the House since the notorious Joe Cannon. And, at least somewhat like Clinton, Gingrich already brings with him a baggage of ethical problems. He seems to lack a personal ethical compass. Distressingly volatile, even in our post–Cold War age Newt still makes one uncomfortable about the prospect of his finger being anywhere close to the nuclear button.

Newt brings with him a team of kooky, Utopian-minded statist advisers.

For make no mistake: Newt Gingrich is a definite possibility for the presidential race in '96. Already the rumor is hot in Washington that Newt will build on his Speakership to run for the White House. Through his massive fundraising for his own personal GOPAC, he has built up a formidable machine of House Republicans beholden to him throughout the country.

Outside the Neocons

To sum up: the prime overriding task of paleos and populists for the Republican race in '96 is to stop The Enemy: to oppose the nomination of any and all neocon-owned and controlled candidates: that is, to stop Kemp, Bennett, Quayle, Alexander, or Gingrich. They are all, to put it simply, unacceptable. No matter how unprincipled or opportunistic their rivals may be, they may be subject to pressure and influence, and are therefore not entirely hopeless: but the neocon-handled are beyond the Pale.

How about the Rockefellers? Unlike the old days, there are no Rockefeller stooges in this race; the unlamented George Bush was one, and his fate demonstrates where the straight Rockefeller types are today: nowhere. The only possible such nominee is the once famed James R. Baker, Bush's former heir apparent. Once the prince of the liberal media, Baker's total floperoo as alleged savior of the Bush campaign has knocked him totally out of the box. Actually, before that

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debacle, Baker, as Secretary of State, was stabbed in the back by fellow Cabinet member Jack Kemp and the neocons for what they deemed insufficient devotion to the State of Israel, which was the major reason—and not his tax increase—for the neocon knifing of Bush in 1992 and their overt as well as covert support for Bill Clinton. Baker has no chance, and of course this is no great loss to the right-wing populist cause.

The favorite of the Left-libertarians within the Republican party, as well as of the Republican gays, is Massachusetts Governor William Weld, whose alleged devotion to budget-cutting and fiscal conservatism is as phony as his commitment to gay "rights" and to gay affirmative action is real. A wealthy preppie patrician, Weld, in both content of policy and in personal style, is a virtual standing provocation to Christian conservatives, and therefore stands zero chance of the nomination.

Other possibles from the left fringe of the party are Bushie Secretary of Labor Lynn Martin, hoping for lightning to strike as vice-president as Woman; and Senator Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania, who has long been an announced candidate for the White House in '96. But the Year of the Woman is long gone, and 1994 saw the remarkable uprising of the Angry White Male (who voted Republican no less than 2-to-1). As for Specter, in addition to being Jewish, he is on the far left fringe of Republicans in the Senate. Specter has only done two conservative things in his life: he was tough in questioning Anita Hill (for which he has been abjectly apologizing to organized Womanhood ever since), and, mindful of his presidential prospects, *not* joining Theresa Heinz in trying to sabotage the recent successful senatorial race of conservative Republican Rick Santorum. (Theresa is the beloved widow of left-liberal multi-millionaire Jack Heinz, who died in a plane crash). Sorry: not good enough. Presumably Specter too is hoping to emerge as the first Jewish vice-presidential candidate in American history. Happily, no chance.

Bob Dole

The probable frontrunner: Everyone knows Bob Dole, and knows him all too well. The ultimate Insider, he has been around too long, is too old in an era when Washington insiders are rightly deeply suspect. Not only that: Dole is a statist to the core; he is High-Tax Dole, Dole the Compromiser, always ready to cave in to the Democracy. Furthermore, in an age when politicians are expected to be friendly, smiling, and charming, Bob Dole, to the contrary, is bitter and sardonic. As far as I am concerned, that bitterness is his only attractive quality; but my view is scarcely the typical voter reaction. Sellouty and statist in content; snarling and bitter in form: not the best recipe for national success. Indeed, in national affairs and politics outside Kansas, Dole is a perpetual loser. He is trusted by no one, and quite rightly, except perhaps by Kansas agricultural interests. Though he might well be nominated, the selection of Dole would bring electoral disaster to the Republican party.

Phil Gramm

Now we get to the more interesting candidates, from the paleo-populist perspective. Gramm is first of all perhaps the brightest of the candidates: unlike Gingrich, he is an intelligent academic, having taught economics at the distinguished Friedmanite economics department of Texas A&M. Unlike the other candidates, when Gramm sells out principle, which he will do often, he *knows* he is selling out and why, which I guess is a virtue. Since he knows better, he *knows* that liberty, the free market, and small government is the proper policy for the country. Since libertarianism and small government has now become the will of the grassroots public, Gramm has proven to be amenable to populist grassroots pressure. Since he bends to the political winds, and since he knows in his heart that we are right, he is the likeliest of all the major candidates to be an opportunist in *our* direction. Unlike the above-mentioned candidates, Gramm is neither a leftist, nor is he owned by either the neocons or the Rockefellers. Hence, with him, the populist cause has a fighting chance for significant influence.

An interesting example of such successful pressure came

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in the critical fight for Texas Republican chairman in 1994, and for consequent control of the ever-stronger Texas party. Phil Gramm and his Senatorial ally, Kay Bailey Hutchison, in the course of her triumphal reelection over trumped-up criminal charges brought by the Democrats, joined in pushing the selection of right-centrist Congressman Joe Barton for chair. Barton was opposed, from the left, by a liberal Republican Woman, heroine of course of the liberal media, and from the right by the paleo Tom Pauken, a former Reagan official who was the candidate both of the Christian Right and of libertarian Republicans. Pauken, who was of couse demonized as a Christian by the media, has always been friendly to sensible libertarians, and his successful race is an inspiring example of the ability of Christian conservatives and libertarians to join in a common cause.

Tom Pauken, last summer, was the candidate of the mighty grassroots people's revolution against Big Government. At the convention, shrewdly perceiving the groundswell to the right, and being a rightist at heart himself, Gramm, instead of petulantly insisting on Barton to the last, had Barton withdraw his candidacy, and got behind Pauken, who swept to victory to the anguish of the media.

In short, put enough right-wing populist pressure on Gramm, and, his head joining his heart, he will cave; he will be happy to be *our* opportunist. That cannot be said of any of the dedicated neocon or Rockefeller candidates.

Pete Wilson

All his political life California Governor Pete Wilson was the very model of a liberal Republican: high tax and cultural liberal, he was long the bane of California conservatives and Christian rightists. But he had one important virtue: he was *not* under Rockefeller or neocon control. If he was a "pragmatist" or opportunist, he was at least *his own* opportunist. By the summer of 1994, high tax Wilson looked doomed to defeat, and left-Democrat Woman Kathleen Brown, of the famed Democrat Brown family, was far ahead in the polls.

And then Pete Wilson did a remarkable thing: he showed brilliant "political entrepreneurship" by following the public will, even if he had to change his political views a full 180 degrees. Sensing the public will, and being happy to adjust to it, he had the courage to go the whole way: he swung sharply rightward, lowering taxes, and latching on to the one political issue where the mass of the California public stood totally opposed by every single one of the powerful financial and opinion-moulding elites in the nation: open borders. In particular, Wilson was the only leading California politician of either party to support Prop. 187, which barred taxpayer funding to illegal immigrants. Wilson had the enormous courage to weigh in on the side of the people and against the hysterical opposition by all of the elites: all the media, economists, academics, neocons, Big Business, Big Unions, Big Medicine, Big Teachers, you name it. Offhand, it might seem odd to brand as "courageous" taking the side of the voting public; but as we all know, in reality, it does take enormous grit for any political leader to incur the febrile opposition of all the financial, political, and media elites in the country. But in doing so, Pete Wilson's gamble paid off: and he rode to a reelection sweep on the 2:1 tidal wave of Prop. 187.

Not only that: Wilson is consistent. He continues to support national immigration restrictions and cracking down on illegals, he supports the constitutional struggles for Prop. 187, and now he has taken the lead on the outrageous "motor-voter" measures of the Democrats, which essentially act as an open invitation to voting fraud and to leftist voting by illegal aliens. Motor voter laws and decisions make the old Tammany Hall "voting cemeteries" seem like child's play.

In short, Pete Wilson is *our* opportunist *extraordinaire*. He is willing to follow the public will, regardless of how many neocon or Rockefeller or other Big Government elites he has to oppose. I never thought I'd live to be saying *from the right* what the *New York Times* and other establishment media have for decades been saying smugly from the left. As politicians and

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presumed conservatives sell out in their direction, these media will hail them for "growing in office," for "maturing," "growing in stature," and "accepting the responsibilities of governing." Well, by God, Pete Wilson has indeed grown in stature and in office, he has matured, and he has accepted the responsibilities of governing. He is governor of the biggest state in the Union, he is a genuine "Comeback Kid," and he will be a fascinating possibility for '96. Before he died, Richard Nixon, no mean political analyst, predicted that Pete Wilson would be reelected, and that he would become the Republican nominee for President in 1996. Wilson has vowed to remain governor, but such vows in politics are made to be broken. Don't sell Pete Wilson short in '96.

In politics, as in sports or war, it is fatal to spend all one's time on the defensive.

Why Can't *We* Mention Some People? Two Southern Governors

In political and social movements, as in sports or war, it is fatal to spend all one's time on the defensive. So far, we have all sat back and let the neocon media mention names, and thereby create their own boomlets for presidential hopefuls. We must begin to think *offense*, we must attack, take the initiative, create our own possibilities. Why can't *we* start mentioning names, and develop our own presidential possibilities?

In recent years, we have all gotten beyond the view that a presidential nominee must come from a large state. The Democrats have already saddled us with two small-state southern governors as president: Jimmy Carter and Slick Willie. But *we* have two magnificent small-state southern governors of our own. So why don't we start pushing them, and try to create our very own groundswell? I offer two excellent candidates: both successful and sterling paleos. First: For President, Alabama Republican Governor Fob James. Fob James is a foursquare, hardcore paleolibertarian. A Democratic governor of Alabama during the 1980s, he just came roaring back as a Republican, upsetting folksy liberal Democrat governor Jim Folsom, son of the famous Governor "Kissin' Jim" Folsom of decades ago. Last year, Fob led an upsurge of Alabama Republicans throughout the state, wiping out the old memories of 19th-century Republicans as the instruments of coercion and Reconstruction.

Second, we offer Mississippi Republican Governor Kirk Fordice, a hardcore paleoconservative, champion of the view, as against hostile neocons, that America is indeed a "Christian nation." At a recent post-election meeting, Fordice challenged the Gingrichian future schlockmeisters Al and Heidi Toffler, insisting that the American people don't want to leap into a future cyberspace; what they want is a return to the peace, quiet, and charm of American life in the 1950s. And so we also offer: For President, Kirk Fordice.

There: let it never be said that we are always "negative" about political leaders! Wouldn't it be wonderful if, like the neocons, we could create our *own* narrow ideological spectrum, all the way from, say, James to Fordice? Anyone *within* that spectrum would be welcome!

What About Pat?

Finally, we come to Pat Buchanan, whom we backed enthusiastically in the 1992 primary. Pat has already appointed a committee to investigate his possible candidacy, and there is every indication that he is going to run for President. Obviously, we are sympathetic to his candidacy. Pat wants to Take America Back for the old culture and the Old Republic; and he is one of the few, if not the only, candidate on the horizon who is not only not controlled by the Rockefellers or the neocons, but who would take a principled paleo and America First—let us call it a "pro-American"—position.

But Pat should be asking himself some key questions before he decides to launch a

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campaign. In 1992, the focus of his campaign was easy: Pat raised the banner of all conservative Republicans who felt betrayed by George Bush. But Bush is gone now, we are in a different era, an era of an emerging populist revolution against Clinton and Big Government, being led and misled by Speaker Gingrich and the rest of the Republican elites. Pat needs to define the focus of his second campaign in the current historical context.

Pat should be asking himself some key questions before he launches a campaign.

We know what Pat *should* be doing: He is in a unique position to take up the reins of leading a so far inchoate and leaderless grassroots populist revolution against the egalitarian, collectivist, internationalist ruling elites. This is a revoluton of white Euro-males, and Pat needs to focus on their grievances and concerns: their focus should be his focus as well.

What are these concerns? Briefly: high taxes, Big Government regulation (including victimology, affirmative action, anti-human environmentalism); the welfare system and the welfare state; violent crime, including inner-city crime; gun control; foreign aid; foreign military intervention; world government and managed world trade; immigration by hordes of foreigners not assimilated into American culture; the secular attack on the Christian religion.

Right now, there are some troubling rumors that Pat intends to focus almost exclusively on protectionist arguments against foreign imports. It is fine and correct to denounce Nafta, Gatt, and all the other internationalist arrangements for managed bureaucratic trade in the name of "free trade." But the populist grassroots movement is much more than that. It aims to restore the vital Tenth Amendment and to roll back gun control. Why has Pat failed to mention the gun issue?

What Pat must do is to raise the banner of right-wing populism: if Ralph Nader and the rank-and-file of the AFL-CIO rally behind Pat's candidacy, that's fine. But a coalition with pro-American (as against pro-foreign, or pro-internationalist) liberals is all well and good, *provided that* the left joins in on terms laid down by the populist right. What Pat needs to guard against is getting entrapped, in pursuit of such a coalition, into becoming just another variety of "Lane Kirkland Republican." We don't think it will happen, but it is important to get the campaign guidelines straight at the very beginning.

Most lines of strategy for 1996 are necessarily murky. For one thing, no one really knows if there will be a Perotvian populist third party in 1996, with or without Perot as the candidate. It is even possible, though not likely, that there will be *five* major parties and presidential candidates in 1996: Democrat, Republican, Jesse Jackson left, Tsongas–Powell center, Perotvian right-center, and a Buchananite or whatever Hard Right. In this murky and volatile situation, the important thing for us paleo-populists is that we find a candidate as soon as possible who will lead and develop the cause and the movement of right-wing populism, to raise the standard of the Old, free, decentralized, and strictly limited Republic. Pat Buchanan has the opportunity to lead this glorious cause and to fashion it into a viable, coherent, and powerful political movement and party. Certainly he has the principles and he has the intelligence to do so. Does he have the will? ■

Quotes That Need No Comment

"Killing it [the National Endowment for the Arts] would make the United States seem like a nation of yahoos."—the late Samuel Lipman, publisher of *The New Criterion* (*New York Times*).

"Someone should tell Newt Gingrich that 'Speaker' is a title, not a job description. Shut up! Shut up!"—Jay Leno

"Gingrich rambled through his 36-minute speech . . . acknowledging the greatest leaders of the 20th century' were Democrats."—*USA Today*

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The World According to Newt

by Justin Raimondo

Conservatives are looking to Newt Gingrich to lead a revolution, and the man who calls himself a "revolutionary" has certainly promised to do just that. But what kind of a revolution can we look forward to?

Those who want a preview should familiarize themselves with Gingrich's course, "Renewing American Civilization," a series of ten lectures, originally delivered at Georgia's Reinhardt Junior College, and broadcast live by the Free Congress Foundation's National Empowerment Television (NET), in which he lays down the principles of his own rather strange version of conservatism. It is a conservatism that is thoroughly egalitarian, which justifies state subsidies as long as they are "entrepreneurial"—and even, at one point, calls for more government largesse in a crankish crusade to "abolish death"!

Gingrich regales his audience with the revelation that "you are an American because of what you believe." Citing those two dyed-in-the-wool American patriots, G. K. Chesterton and Margaret Thatcher, Gingrich announces that the American identity is an abstraction, a "creed." He then trots out the inevitable Ben Wattenberg, who pontificates on the subject of America as the "first universal nation."

And what exactly is a "universal nation"? A nation is, by definition, a particularity; that is, a *particular* people, with a specific history and culture, and usually a fixed geographic location. How can a nation be "universal" if it has these decidedly non-universal characteristics?

That this militant universalism, the hallmark of modern liberalism, is being marketed as "conservatism" is an indication of just how far the Right has wandered from its original meaning and purpose. As if to underscore this strange reversal of polarities, Gingrich buttresses his case by quoting Max Lerner, whom he describes as "a liberal who wrote for the newspaper *PM*." A more accurate description of Lerner would be: a commie who wrote for the fellow-traveling *PM*.

Quoting Wattenberg, Gingrich asks us to look at the back of a U.S. dollar bill, and the words "Novus Ordo Seculorum," if we want to see the real essence of America. "A New Order for the ages," rants Gingrich, means that America is a new kind of nation under the sun. "The New World Order refers to a new moral and political order within ourselves."

We are then shown the mass swearing-in of naturalized citizens in South Florida. Gingrich celebrates the fact that immigration has increased faster than at any time in American history, and that recent immigrants and their children will soon make up a majority of the U.S. population. As an example of the benefits washed up on American shores by this immigrant floodtide, he cites none other than Arnold Schwarzenegger, "the single greatest foreign exchange earner in America." We are then treated to a film clip of Arnold, in which he claims to be a refugee from "socialism," as if his homeland of Austria had just emerged from behind the Iron Curtain.

Every minority, from Antiguans to Indians, is praised in this multi-cultural love-fest. Only one people—the largest single ethnic group in America—is singled out as altogether reprehensible: Germans. Not only does Gingrich crack a series of anti-German jokes, he also launches into a long story which supposedly proves that Germans are obedient robots, slaves born to

More Quotes That Need No Comment

"Newt's a lot like Bill Clinton, with a deep and abiding faith in the power of his mouth. (From the rear they even look alike). Like the Arkansas Mercury, Newt imagines that his years on a college campus made him wise, and if he talks long enough and fast enough he can persuade anybody to do anything."—Wesley Pruden, editor, the *Washington Times*

"Gingrich covered all the right bases, a couple of times." — Senator Bob Dole, *USA Today*

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follow orders.

Someone asks a question about blacks: why didn't they assimilate into American culture? Gingrich, the victimologist, blames slavery, and, incredibly, *the conservative movement* for opposing the civil rights movement. Because the civil rights leaders "didn't understand private property," the black population then became the passive victim of racism, government oppression, and welfarism.

Why is Gingrich smearing the movement he is supposed to be leading? Conservatives opposed the so-called civil rights movement because they correctly saw that anti-discrimination laws would lead to affirmative action. They also opposed the movement because they knew that black leaders like Martin Luther King most certainly *did* understand private property—at least enough to know that it stood in the way of their redistributionist agenda.

Gingrich is full of little aphorisms, like "Every person is an executive" (really?) and "Every person is an entrepreneur."

He then launches into a speech about how we should never have abandoned the space program, the biggest example of pure corporate socialism.

Newt tells us government must be "entrepreneurial." But how does government, the negation of the market, become an "entrepreneur"? "Entrepreneurial government" is a contradiction in terms.

Alvin Toffler then appears to tell us that "technology is destiny," to be embraced because it is "the great equalizer," and because it led to the "liberation" of women. We are then subjected to a convoluted explanation of Tofflerian bromides, climaxed by Gingrich's breathless declaration that the "entrepreneurial spirit" is "a rhythm in your head."

A major roadblock on the road to Gingrich's hi-tech Eden is "credentialism," any kind of hierarchical system which seeks to discover new knowledge and pass it on, i.e. the universities and schools in general. He contrasts "putting in hours" in a classroom to gaining knowledge in the manner of a "genius."

A major enemy of technology is taxation, says Gingrich, and who could disagree? But he *praises* taxes that "target the ones who lay around all day," living off "inherited wealth."

This hatred of inherited wealth is rooted in radical egalitarianism: in the left-liberal notion that we all have to start out in life with a "level playing field." That a man with such views is Speaker of the House is frightening enough: that he poses as a conservative adds insult to injury.

In Gingrich's view, "government can (and should) play a powerful role in science and technology. Breakthroughs affect everyone, and are worth the costs." Big projects are particularly suited to government control, provided they are "focused." His enthusiasm for the multi-billion-dollar orbiting boondoggle known as the Space Station is unbounded. He even exhorts us to "wipe out disease" through government-promoted DNA research, and claims we may be able to "abolish aging"—and have Gingrich, I guess, around forever.

But government-funded superscience will not alleviate the problem Gingrich reiterates again and again throughout this course. "We cannot survive as a civilization as long as 13 year olds are having babies, sixteen year olds are shooting each other, and eighteen year olds are dying of AIDS." The invention of fiber optics will not ameliorate the natural inequality of human beings. In fact, it is far more likely that this technological advance will widen the cognitive gap between the classes, and lead to an explosion of resentment rather than "genius."

Although Gingrich used to be a history teacher, the American Revolution does not much enter into his calculations. According to the Newtonian view, the three great events of American history are the defeat of the evil Confederacy, World War II, and the rise of Martin Luther King and the civil rights movement. The media were taken by surprise when Newt praised his hero, Franklin Delano Roosevelt; In this lecture series delivered more than a year ago he was full of praise for the founder of America's welfare state.

As an example of his "entrepreneurial" concept of

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government, Gingrich discusses a bill he introduced in the Democratic-controlled Congress, the "Teen-age Employment Act." This was a revision of a bill introduced by the Democrats, which granted federal money to local governments so unemployed teenagers could come on down to city hall and get a make-work "job." Gingrich advocates taking "the same amount of money" and giving it "to businesses to hire these kids." "We wanted to subsidize inner city business," says Gingrich.

Gingrich's course is little more than ideological Muzak.

As Gingrich openly (and proudly) acknowledges, "it's going to be some minority group" that will get the subsidies. "It's no accident," he boasts, "that the Hispanic Chamber of Commerce supported my bill."

Gingrich claims to be the advocate of "a very different approach to the question of who do you subsidize and who do you encourage." Conservatives used to be *against* subsidies. Under the new Gingrichian dispensation, welfare and other subsidies are reinvented, redirected, and made oh-so-very "entrepreneurial." This is not conservatism, but a hi-tech, politically correct supply-side version of the spoils system.

Newt won't get rid of unemployment insurance. He thinks it is "a contract between big business and government," and as such must be solemnly continued unto eternity. And don't worry about worker's comp: it will be turned into a retraining program, and never lack for money as long as Newt remains Speaker.

Welfare must have a work requirement, he intones. This is another occasion for a subsidy, this time to employ an otherwise unemployable rabble. Clinton would give them government jobs; Gingrich would pay business to babysit them. In the latter case, the welfare state remains not only intact but strengthened, since it now wears an "entrepreneurial" disguise. In terms of cost and scope, such a program would be the biggest government jobs program since FDR.

Gingrich would require everyone to buy health insurance, and to those who can't, "if somebody needs a subsidy," he says, "give it to them directly." And if your blood pressure is at a certain prescribed level, then "we should reward you."

Government must use its "police powers" to not only ensure product "safety," but also "reshape the market," and issue the "occasional" bureaucratic edict.

Newt rhapsodizes about the "Earn to Learn" program in which inner-city "at risk" youth are paid to read books. Although the program gets no federal dollars now, Gingrich plans to change that to effect "an explosion of literacy."

In the realm of public housing, Gingrich would expand the program while giving it an "entrepreneurial" veneer. Giant public housing complexes would be dismantled, and tenants would be given vouchers (i.e., subsidies) for housing in the suburbs.

Gingrich even launches into a paean to Jimmy Carter. Carter may be a Democrat, he tells us, but their respective "visions" are "the same." "I appear conservative," says Newt, but am actually a "revolutionary centrist." It is in this connection that he denounces H. L. Mencken as "cynical, mean, nasty, and hostile" in his treatment of American politicians. Mencken, he says, hates "self-government."

If "self-government" consists of paying "minority"-owned businesses to babysit inner city urchins, who are then paid to read the *Autobiography of Malcom X*, then, yes, Mencken would have hated it. And I have news for Newt: so will every decent hardworking American taxpayer.

Gingrich's course is little more than g ideological Muzak: half psychobabble, half techno-idolatry. Meandering, disjointed, repetitious, often babbling, and occasionally downright bizarre, "Renewing American Civilization" fails both as theory and as theater. ■

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Neil McCaffrey, Jr., Conservative Giant

by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

The publishing industry has never been friendly to the opponents of Leviathan, and conservatives and libertarians had to seek out alternative channels. Preeminently, those were Arlington House, Publishers, and the Conservative Book Club, both founded by Neil McCaffrey, Jr. (1925-1994).

Mr. McCaffrey was a man of faith, and that's what it took to start both companies after the Goldwater defeat. But Mr. McCaffrey knew that the conservative movement was about more than winning elections. Its task was to guard the institutions of the Old Republic against liberalism in the academy, the media, and the government.

As an entrepreneur, he combined a faith in markets and the conservative vision with his own broad publishing experience. He recruited investors, created two eminent institutions, and raised a new generation of thinkers and doers when everyone said conservatism was dead, and liberalism was predestined.

Hundreds of thousands have relied on the Conservative Book Club to bring them the books that others ignored, and Arlington House published many of them. Mr. McCaffrey kept Ludwig von Mises in print despite the attempts by Keynesians to silence their greatest opponent. He published economist Henry Hazlitt when no one else would touch his anti-welfare views. He brought out Murray N. Rothbard's four-volume history of colonial America when William F. Buckley, Jr., had tried to turn the creator of libertarianism into an unperson. And unlike today's "conservatives," he didn't shy away from Abraham Ellis's book on the Social Security fraud.

As an early consultant to the Republican Congressional Committee, Mr. McCaffrey also founded ideological direct mail, allowing conservative candidates and organizations to bypass establishment funding sources. That others have not lived up to his ethical example does not diminish this achievement.

Mr. McCaffrey was also a culture warrior. Against modern decadence, he upheld the popular entertainment of the 1920s and 1930s, founding two more book clubs to spread the word.

Not that he went from strength to strength. At one point, his financial backers decided to sell Arlington House and the Conservative Book Club. The paper profits seemed large, but the move proved a disaster for Mr. McCaffrey, who watched shares that represented his life savings drop to zero.

Most men would have been destroyed. But those who worked for Mr. McCaffrey saw instead how a man can and should face adversity. He was angry at incompetence, and he worried about his family's financial future, but he carried out his obligations every day, and never abandoned his humor or his Christian sense of hope.

A theological advisor to more famous conservatives, Mr. McCaffrey was a serious Catholic of a sort rare these days. Like Acton and Newman, he opposed the centralization of ecclesiastical power, and watched in horror as liberals led the church into doctrinal and liturgical disaster.

Catholics believe that married life is every bit as much a vocation as the priesthood, and Mr. McCaffrey was proof this is so. He had joked that like Evelyn Waugh, he would have his children brought in to him for ten minutes a day. But he was a pro-family conservative in fact, who never put his wife or children second as he rebuilt his business.

"I love my faith, my family, my home, my work, my friends, my books, my records," he wrote the members of the Conservative Book Club when he learned he had cancer. "I could never willingly leave Joan, even for a day. Joan, who won my heart, effortlessly, that soft night in early June 1947, and who has had no trouble exercising her property rights ever since. And our children: we are blessed in each one of our three sons and three daughters.

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How's that for planned parenthood?

"I count it a privilege to fight the liberals," he said, and he did until the end, right through the chemotherapeutic poisons. "We are not meant to take our rest in this world," he had written with a bow to Newman, but to renounce "self-indulgence—even in activities innocent of sin—in favor of a life where we keep at our duties, whether religious or professional, charitable or domestic."

Neil McCaffrey, Jr., kept at those duties. He didn't write much, aside from the best ad copy of our time, and some of his friends thought that a shame. But there's no telling what he might have left undone had he spent more time at a typewriter. He was a hero to his friends, his movement, his family, and his church. Surely that's enough. ■

An Uncertain Trumpet

by L.H.R., Jr.

The man who defeated the Clinton health care bill (or claims he did) has taken a sharp turn to the left. And he's telling other Republicans to follow him.

In a memo dated January 3rd and circulated among Republicans, Beltway strategist William Kristol urges the new majority in Congress to jettison its principles, forget its dreams, and play the old political game. Republicans, he says, should spend the next two years debating policy, accumulating power, and enacting only symbolic measures.

Why? Ostensibly to win the White House back, as if office were an end in itself. It's a cynical and disastrous notion. It would be a poke in the eye for the elctorate, which has demanded revolutionary change, and it might even *cost* the GOP the 1996 presidential election. These days, voters demand more than Reaganesque words. They want deeds.

If the GOP chooses to do this Kristolian Shuffle, it should be horsewhipped down the steps of the Capitol.

And now is the time. The opposition is demoralized, the media are confused, and the people are cheering. If the GOP chooses to do this Kristolian Shuffle, it should be horsewhipped down the steps of the Capitol.

For decades, Republicans have been griping about big government, blaming every advance of Leviathan on the Democrat-controlled Congress. Republican presidents were statists too, but the GOP justified this as a necessary Cold War trade-off.

All that has changed. The Communist Threat is gone, so there's no reason to pass domestic pork in return for foreign. At long last, Republicans control the purse strings, and there's no more excuse.

Yet Kristol, a former Dan Quayle speechwriter, counsels idleness. We cannot, he says, "promptly hurl our newborn Republican electorate into the deep, undiluted ocean of conservative philosophy, supremely confident that the baby will swim (and not hate us for the lesson)."

Leaving aside the morbid and insulting metaphor, just how does Kristol want the GOP to spend its time? "Fighting Clinton." Huh? The GOP was elected to undo the *work* of Clinton, not to toss darts at an already deflated balloon.

Forget "conservative utopia," says Kristol, or Republicans will "spook the public; Hillary and Ira did." Republicans must not, "helter-skelter, attempt to undo or alter—Clinton health care plan-style—the basic, predictable arrangements" of people's lives. What an absurd parallel. The ambition and scale of the Clinton health plan didn't defeat it: the prospect of increased government control did. Republicans bring liberty from government, or at least claim to, which is the opposite of Hillary. Far from being spooky, liberty is our birthright.

Polls consistently reveal the lowest confidence in govern-

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ment since 1778. Who, besides the bureaucrats, wouldn't cheer if Republicans abolished whole departments, defunded complete programs, and repealed entire legislative departments?

The federal government takes and wastes more than $1,500,000.000,000 from the private stock of capital every year. Meanwhile, the overwhelming majority of Americans report an entirely negative view of the results.

The federal government is the most economically and morally destructive force in American life. When it comes to bringing it down, principles and strategy coincide. But Kristol, who opposed Prop. 187, says stop: "we cannot remove in a year or two what liberals have spent 25 years and more erecting."

Nonsense. And doesn't the GOP owe it to the American people to try, and not to stop at 1970 either?

George Will has it right: conservatives should reverse "the liberal project first formulated around the turn of the century." Or let's be less ambitoiius: why not undo Clintonism: the crime bill, the Brady bill, and the 1994 tax increase?

And while we're at it, doesn't the GOP have a moral obligation to repeal George Bush's big government? Instead of fooling with committee staff levels, Republicans need to enact an immediate $500 billion spending cut to take us back to 1988.

Reagan got away with talking a good game. But today's Republicans will be held to a higher standard, one of their own creation. Next year's budget must be lower than this year's.

As Mark Helprin writes, "if in the next six months you do not risk everything, including your electoral prospects, your careers, and the future of your party, you will have failed your country and you will have failed yourselves."

Republicans must reject the counsels of indolence, from whatever source. As Mikhail Gobachev, another compromiser, discovered too late, when you're standing on the edge of the abyss, you have to take a giant leap. ■

While We Siesta

by L.H.R., Jr.

On New Year's Day, when the rest of us were vowing self-improvement, the U.S. government was wallowing in its old vices. It resolved to bail out its Mexican colleagues with a $10 billion line of credit. And the figure keeps growing. When the news first leaked, it was supposed to be $6 billion. Now it's part of a coalition that will put $18 billion at risk.

But not one dime should go south: the currency is unstable, the government defaulted on its debt just 12 years ago, the elections are stolen, there's no rule of law, and the oligarchy rules through corruption and terror. Then there are political assassinations and revolutionary uprisings.

When the peso was devalued and then tailspinned, the Mexican government's first response was to impose wage and price controls. It shut down businesses caught disobeying its totalitarian orders, then came sombrero in hand to D.C.

Would you extend an unsecured, signature loan to the spendthrift and tyrannical Mexican government? Well, you don't have a choice. The Federal Reserve and the Clinton Treasury have decided to do it for you by administrative edict. Under our own tyranny, they don't even have to ask Congress; they only have to report periodically on how much money they've lost.

But it's not the personal assets of Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin or Fed head Alan Greenspan that are at risk. When the U.S. government extends credit, the American saver and taxpayer are the guarantors, and the losers. Like all federal debt, Mexican loans will mean higher taxes or higher inflation, not to speak of displaced private borrowing. J.P. Morgan and Citicorp, banks which already hold Mexican debt, are handing over an additional $3 billion. That was supposed to give the deal some market credibility, but the banks wouldn't have sent good money after bad without government backing. By rolling over shaky loans, they are betting they will get their money no matter what, i.e. from you and me.

Yet in the November election, the public set its face against this

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kind of redistribution. Domestically is bad enough, but to foreign governments? If Republicans are looking for an issue to further secure their political gains, this is it. There is no political downside. What percentage of even Democrat voters support a bailout of Ernesto Zedillo?

Neither is there an economic downside. Mexico's economy is no bigger than that of Los Angeles. From the point of view of our economic health, it's neither here nor there if Mexico goes down the tubes. In fact, with the ensuring bargain-basement sales of Mexican goods, American consumers would make out like banditos.

Even average Mexicans would be better off with a broke and debilitated government, which could no longer intervene so savagely in their lives and property. Most importantly, the Mexican government and ruling class would pay the price for their extravagance, setting a good example for other deadbeats.

If U.S. exporters make fewer profits in Mexico, so be it. They pushed for Nafta in expectation of a subsidy; now they pay the price. Under capitalism, you can't divorce opportunity from risk. Yet that is what Nafta was all about.

During the debate, both sides preferred to talk about protectionism versus free trade. In fact, that had precious little to do with the real agreement, which concerned supranational bureaucracies, subsidies to big business, payoffs to Mexico, and the beginnings of a currency union in the North American Financial Group.

As economist Murray N. Rothbard wrote last June, "one of the unheralded aspects of Nafta was joint government action in propping up each others' exchange rates. In practice, this means artificial overvaluation of the Mexican peso," which is "one more step toward arrangements that will distort exchange rates, create monetary crises and shortages, and waste taxpayers' money and economic resources."

Under Jimmy Carter's Monetary Control Act, the Federal Reserve can create money out of thin air to buy the bonds of foreign governments (or any other foreign asset). This inflationary trick hasn't been used much, but the great Mexican disaster may provide the first major opportunity. And every foreign bond bought by the Fed creates more money and credit to flood the market here, driving up our prices and destabilizing our investment sector.

Will the Republicans do anything about this? Don't hold your breath. The party's elites made Nafta possible, a fact which will not be easily forgotten by the millions of people who begged them to do otherwise. And once again, the public proves to have better instincts than Washington's managerial class. ■

Quotes That Need No Comment

"Mexico was supposed to be the star student. Everyone thought they could believe everything said by these wonderful ministers with their Harvard and Princeton decrees." — Lars Schonander, Latin American economist at Barings Securities, New York, on the collapse of the Mexican attempt to maintain an overvalued perso, *Wall St. Journal*

"I was shocked. The new government had sworn up and down that the peso was essentially untouchable." — Bob Lippoens, senior international economist, Chrysler Corp., *New York Times*

"New President Ernesto Zedillo has announced wage and price controls for 60 days. but there were reports of restickering . . . The devaluation has revived fears that a bitter cycle of wage and price inflation could ensue, should price controls fail to hold long enough for the government to reassert control over the economy . . . . [U.S. Treasury Undersecretary Lawrence] Summers said the Mexican economy is fundamentally more sound than the peso's drop suggests." — *New York Post*

"The rules of engagement [in the assault on Randy Weaver and his family] not only departed from the FBI's standard deadly force policy, but also contradicted the Constitution of the United States." — report of the Department of Justice, *Washington Times*

"Computer viruses should count as life. It says something about human nature that the only form of life we have created so far is purely destructive. We've created life in our own image." —Stephen Hawking, *USA Today*

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The Devolution Bidding War

by L.H.R., Jr.

The tax-cut bidding war between—and *within*—the two parties is the most encouraging political development in decades. Cut-throat political competition may begin to take a new and revolutionary form. Instead of cooperating and logrolling to spend, tax, and regulate, the reverse may begin to happen. When politicians discover the political advantages of devolving the state, they will trample each other in the rush to do so.

It's a fantasy of sorts, but it's not impossible. Consider how much the political culture has changed from two years ago. Then, President-elect Clinton was presiding over a summit of hundreds of economists. One after another, they certified the President's plan for making government bigger. Massive new spending, taxing, and regulating? The sooner the better.

That event now seems worlds away. Public sentiment, backed by 73 Republican fire-eaters, is forcing Washington to consider changes which only yesterday were unthinkable. Even the Republican leadership has been pushed further to the right than it wants to go.

The conventional "public-choice" explanation for the growth of the state runs as follows: politicians, self-interested as they are, want to stay in office, and so pass out spending and regulatory favors to their benefactors. The costs are diffused throughout the population, while the special-interest benefits are concentrated on a few.

In this game, the special interests, a minority of the population, have the advantage. They apply focussed pressure for highly valued favors, and the costs are spread around a voter population that has neither the resources nor the incentive to reverse the damage. In this model, the democratic process, once defined as majority rule, becomes rule by coalitions of minority interests. That model has explanatory power, but it also has a flaw: it discounts the role of ideas, and indeed, the roar of an anti-government ideology has begun to drown out the special interests, with politicians at last paying some attention.

The November election shredded all kinds of conventional wisdom. The term-limits movement sprang up on the assumption that the natural advantages of incumbency keep bad people in office. That turns out to be a canard. Voters kicked out the incumbents they didn't like, and kept the ones they did like. Term limits have proved to be at best superfluous, and Republicans should scrap the idea.

Politicians who sent federal grants and projects to their districts were once thought to be cemented in office. But the politicos who tried invoking that rationale this time were rebuffed. Opponents made the point that pork is costly, and that those getting it are not the ones paying for it.

The "median-voter theory" of governing says that middle-of-the-road politicians will win out over the extremes of right or left. That may still be true, but in November, we also discovered that the center is a lot further to the right than the media have told us.

The end of the Cold War is also proving to have continuing consequences. Jingoism was once thought to be a sure winner. But during this election, foreign policy wasn't raised as an issue in any campaign. So much for that conventional wisdom.

How long will politicians support keeping U.S. troops in 75 countries, when there is no political advantage to it? A call to bring the boys home has a lot more resonance than a demand to bomb the Serbs. The party elites understand this much less well than the Congressional newcomers, most of whom probably don't even look at the "World" section of the morning news.

Gore Vidal, writing in the *Nation* (Dec. 26, 1994), reminds us that "when a people comes to detest the political system in which it is entrapped, that system will not endure for very long." Americans hate centralized government "as we have known it since the bloody nation-building of Bismarck and Lincoln."

But can this new wave of

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anti-statism prevail over special-interest politicking? Yes, if courageous political and intellectual leaders make it possible. Once the process of devolution begins—through cutting taxes, abolishing agencies, and repealing regulations—the momentum may prove difficult to contain. What happened to Mr. Gorbachev's *perestroika* may happen to Mr. Gingrich's Contract With America, another half measure. That prospect is keeping the elites of both parties awake at night. ■

Questions for Republicans

by L.H.R., Jr.

For thirty years, the GOP has complained about liberal welfare schemes. Now, when they could put their votes where their mouths have been, they're drafting a plan to entrench these programs, despite the clear wishes of the taxpayers.

The Republican plan would transfer most means-tested entitlement programs to the states in the name of "federalism," but this is hardly what James Madison had in mind. For the GOP would have the federal government collect the money and dictate how it is spent.

This plan could generate 50 photocopies of the horrible welfare state the feds now run. What's the point? If welfare is wrong—if it produces dependency, irresponsibility, crime, and sloth—why isn't it wrong no matter what level of government is superficially in charge? And just how would "federalist" welfare curb the social chaos of the current scheme?

Does the Republican elite seek to shift responsibility and blame to the states, while allowing their Washington to wash its hands of one of the touchiest issues in American politics? It would take political pressure off Congress—no good thing—while keeping the pressure on the taxpayers.

An authentic federalism would do more than transfer administrative functions. It would eliminate the central state's welfare taxing and spending, including "block grants."

The plan's drafters say it will allow policy experimentation at the state level—the "laboratories of democracy" theory. This is doubtful. Let's say a principled governor wants to cut taxes and use the block grant to replace existing spending. Will this be allowed? Of course not.

Instead, governors will be forced to create mini-versions of D.C., plus add the Republican scheme of "workfare": government jobs for those who are demonstrably the least work-inclined in society. In fact, there is to be a twenty-fold expansion of taxpayer-funded, government-run "work" by the year 2003.

The GOP governors elected this past November weren't put in office to build Shalala-lands from Mississippi to Massachusetts, especially when this could end up as the biggest interference in states' rights since Reconstruction.

How is this money to be allocated? Is every state equal? North Dakota and Wyoming will appreciate the cash. If it's on a per capita basis, the demographics won't check out, because population and poverty are not causally related.

Or will the money be distributed on the basis of existing poverty, defined as those qualified for welfare now? That rewards the present recipients, whom, presumably, Republicans want to make independent of welfare. It would also reward the most socialist-oriented states with even more subsidies.

We're told that the plan will save 12%. Will present federal welfare workers be laid off? Or will D.C. itself be treated as a state? Also, does this figure take account of the costs of erecting new bureaucracies in state capitals?

Even if cut initially, that 12% will be re-spent in three years or less, if history is our guide. Worst of all, the plan may justify spending increases in the first two years as necessary for savings in the future.

The Republican elite has devised an esoteric teaching for the restless 73 freshmen. It runs as follows: the current system of welfare is an entitlement, which means nothing can be done to cut it. But block grants to the states are yearly appropriations, and can be cut or even voted out of existence.

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Don't believe it, guys. Annual appropriations for education, foreign aid, and highways have proven more impervious to trimming or repeal. When was the last time the party voted as a bloc against such things?

And if there is some idea of abolishing all this next year, as freshmen are being told, why does the plan contain phased-in regulations applying 10 years hence? Let's say the Republican elite really does have a secret plan to abolish even the block grants. Why hide it? The public is ready for radical measures, and the liberals are going to object to anything the GOP comes up with, if only on partisan grounds. Or is the real secret plan to do one thing and say another, to shore-up the welfare state while convincing Americans that it is being trimmed?

Restructuring is not the answer, especially if it involves bullying the states. The only solution is to cut and abolish welfare. If not now, when? If not this Congress, who?

James Madison didn't envision a central government able to foist billion-dollar welfare programs on the states. Otherwise, he'd have torn up the Federalist Papers and joined Patrick Henry in defending the Articles of Confederation. ■

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Death by Vouchers

by L.H.R., Jr.

Washington conservatives think the election of Republican governors will bring new life to school vouchers. For example, they are the centerpiece of New York governor George Pataki's education plan. But if history and demographics are our guide, support for vouchers is less likely to revive them than to kill their sponsors.

Sure, liberal groups oppose vouchers, viewing public subsidies to private education as a threat to state schools. Teachers' unions don't like them for obvious reasons. Voucher advocates dismiss these groups as "special interests."

But what about the special interests of the pro-voucher movement? The Catholic bishops, more liberal than Hillary Clinton, are vociferous supporters. They welcome government subsidies for their schools just as they do for their charities. Another predictable group: low-income parents of kids in inner-city schools, who'd like the taxpayers to pick up the tab for private education in the suburbs. They'd also like free health care, a big house, and a new car. Whatever happened to working hard and saving money as the key to upward mobility?

Much more interesting is widespread conservative opposition to school vouchers. Every major conservative publication has printed skeptical articles, and Republican voters and taxpayers have voiced opposition when they've had the chance.

With California's voucher initiative, suburban voters tallied up the costs (very high) and considered the likely effects (state control of private education, among others), and said forget it by a wide margin. Yet this smashing failure is only the most obvious example.

New Jersey Governor Christine Whitman has pushed vouchers for nearly two years. But she can't get Republican legislators interested. Opinion ranges from indifference to hostility. In retrospect, every dime of political capital she's put into the issue has been a waste.

In New Jersey as elsewhere, parents of students currently attending private schools are the most opposed. Sure they'd like a subsidy, but not at the expense of the school's autonomy, and they know that government control always follows government money.

The evidence from abroad is alarming. Under the Debre Act, France uses tax money to subsidize private schools. But over the years, this law has become a bane. It stipulates that private schools must adopt the government's curriculum, must not discriminate in admissions or discipline, and must not teach religion. In fact, voucher-taking schools must actively promote "freedom of conscience," and we know what that means.

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Voucher-taking French schools were forced to admit Algerian immigrants as part of the non-discrimination policy, and whatever we think of multiculturalism generally, it hardly creates the best possible learning environment. The French schools that wanted to retain distinctive linguistic, cultural, and religious traits refused tax dollars. But they have had to compete with subsidized schools, and therefore suffer artificial financial strains.

Voucher advocates point out that the U.S. is one of the few Western countries not to spend public money on private elementary and secondary schools. Right. But the U.S. doesn't have fully socialized medicine either, which also makes it unique. America has the largest independent-school sector in the world. That's something to be proud of, not to jettison through vouchers.

Look at Milwaukee, the only voucher program operating in the country. The 12 schools chosen to receive funds have become public in every sense but formal ownership. If they allow prayer or teach anything nominally religious, for example, they're blackballed. Students already in private schools are ineligible for funds.

Here is a snapshot of Milwaukee's voucher-taking population, as provided by Daniel McGroarty in the Fall 1994 *Public Interest*: 60% of the parents are currently receiving welfare; 77% are from single-parent households; 93-96% are black; they are "very near the bottom in terms of academic achievement"; and they are likely to have "a history of behavior-related problems."

Such kids are far from hopeless, but mixing them up with good students from stable homes is hardly the answer, as busing has shown. Yet such mixing is mandated in Milwaukee. Schools getting vouchers must have 51% paying customers. (But as these people leave the changed schools, the non-welfare minimum has been lowered to 35%). Republican governors should ask themselves: how exactly does the middle class benefit from such a program? Liberal social engineering, which seeks to orient all of society towards the underclass, had a lot to do with the defeat of Democrats in November 1994. It's politically stupid to bring such an idea back under a conservative guise. ■

P.C. Watch

by L.H.R., Jr.

Goodbye, Kitty

Barney's, the expensive New York City clothing store, removed a mock manger scene from its front window after protests from the Catholic League threatened to disrupt Christmas sales.

The display, created by sculptor Tom Sachs, was entitled the "Hello Kitty Nativity." It featured a kitten wearing a beanie as the Christ Child, Bart Simpson dolls as the Three Kings, and the singer-slut Madonna, bra loosened to reveal her breasts and legs spread apart, as the Blessed Mother. Over the scene, instead of the Star of Bethlehem, were the "Golden Arches" of McDonalds.

A couple of years ago, Barney's featured a Christmas tree decorated with colored condoms. (WINS News Radio, New York City, 12/10/94, and *New York Times*, 12/13/94)

Gullah-ble

The American Bible Association has been funding a massive project for 15 years to translate the Scriptures into "Gullah," described as a black language spoken by 20,000 descendants of slaves on the sea islands of South Carolina and Georgia. Lead by a Baptist minister, the Rev. Irvin Green, 13 other Gullah speakers and linguists hope to finish the New Testament in three years. The ABA has just published their Gospel of St. Luke.

"It's our language," says Mr. Green. "It's just wonderful to come to this." We have "tried to undo 350 to 400 years of indoctrination that the way we speak is bad and wrong. It was drilled into us if you want to get

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ahead, you must get rid of the Gullah."

Some people wanted to make up a new alphabet, since Gullah is an "oral language," and to avoid using the white man's letters. But cooler heads prevailed, since the Gullah speakers are largely illiterate. and the translation uses an "alphabet based on English." Despite talk of Gullah being based on West African dialects, the true nature of this "language" is shown by the title of the published Gospel: "De Good Nyews Bout Jedus Christ Wit Luke Write." (*Washington Times,* 11/12/94)

Alienation and Angst

"As bells jingle on Christmas eve, many American Jews [not living in New York] feel a familiar kind of claustrophobia," writes David Margolick in the *New York Times* (12/24/94). They can't shop because everything is closed. They can't go out because it's so cold. They can't even "watch television because it's filled with Christmas specials." For them, "alienation and angst are as much a part of Christmas as Santa Claus and his reindeer."

In response, "800 Jews in the Bay Area" will eat Chinese food and laugh at "a cross-section of California's Jewish comedians: men and women, straight and gay, short and tall." There were even fortune cookies "stuffed with bits of Yiddish wisdom," such as "With one rear end you can't dance at two weddings." Then the audience sang "the anthem of late-20th century American yuppie Jewry, not 'Hatikvah' or the Internationale, but 'Sunrise, Sunset.'"

Gud Greef

In a letter to family court, Harlem junior high school principal Harvey Young defended one of his students. He also spelled like one of them: "William was present during the time of this robery [sic], however he was not the main culpritnore [sic] shuld [sic] he be charged. William was traveling with a friend when the robery [sic] took place and I feel this is being blown out of porportion [sic]." (*New York Post,* 12/16/94)

Did Freud Kill Mahler?

Sigmund Freud and Gustav Mahler took a famous four-hour walk in the Dutch town of Leiden in 1910. The composer was distraught over an affair his wife, Alma, was having with the architect Walter Gropius, and after much see-sawing, decided to seek the help of Freud. Now the researches of a Philadelphia psychiatrist, Emmanuel E. Garcia, have thrown some new light on the incident.

Alma was 20 years younger, and Freud told Mahler he was a replacement for her father. Mahler himself, claimed Freud, has been looking for a replacement for his mother. The proof? Alma's middle name, Maria, was the same as Mahler's mother's first name. Freud later told the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society—Garcia discovered—that "Mahler was at a turning point in his life," and Freud reveled in his power of turning him towards his music or his wife. Freud chose the sluttish Alma. He had long been interested in the "largely unknown territory of genius," said Freud, and he decided to experiment on Mahler, even though he knew it might "damage the intuitive creative process." Mahler took Freud's advice, although his wife was promiscuous for the rest of her life. Mahler was unable to finish his 10th Symphony, and wrote nothing else between his talk with Freud and his unexpected death 10 months later. "Turning to his wife" came "at the expense of his creative wellsprings," says Garcia, "and could well have hastened his death." (*Washington Post,* 12/29/94).

Outland

When "Outland" and "Bloom County" cartoonist Berkeley Breathed was asked by *Omni* magazine what extraterrestrial visitors should be told, he said: "Naturally, official victim status would need to be established, a grievance group founded, and letterheads designed. A suitable term for their minority status would need to be determined even before their feet, or tentacles, or ambulatory hair follicles reached the ground from the craft. For instance, 'alien of color' or 'non-color' if pigment-challenged." (*Washington Post,* 1/4/95) ■

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